

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (HARTMAN, ARTHUR A.)

SUBJECT: HAMILTON SUBCOMMITTEE OPEN HEARINGS, MONDAY,
-- MAY 23, 1:00 P.M.

COMMUNICATIONS CENTER PLEASE DELIVER COPIES TO ASSISTANT
SECRETARY HARTMAN ONLY AT OOB MAY 20

1. PROVIDED BELOW IS DRAFT FROM WARREN ZIMMERMANN
AND OTHERS OF PREPARED STATEMENT FOR YOUR APPEARANCE BE-
FORE HAMILTON SUBCOMMITTEE ON MONDAY AT 1:00 P.M. AFTER
TAKING SOUNDINGS, CONCLUSION OF H WAS THAT COMMITTEE WOULD
NOT BE HAPPY TO RECEIVE FORMAL REQUEST FOR POSTPONEMENT,
AND H THUS RECOMMENDS GOING AHEAD WITH MONDAY DATE. DRAFT,
WITH YOUR CHANGES, CAN BE PUT INTO FINAL ON MONDAY MORNING
AND PROVIDED TO THE COMMITTEE JUST PRIOR TO YOUR APPEAR-
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ANCE (THIS HAS BEEN AGREED ON THE HILL).

2. BEGIN TEXT:

-- MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE:

-- U.S. POLICY TOWARD EUROPE AND CANADA IS A COMPOUND OF
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO OUR TRA-
DITIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES, AND ENHANCED IMPETUS TO

TO NEW DIRECTIONS NECESSARY TO MEET THE COMMON CHALLENGES

OF THE NEXT DECADE.

-- OUR INCREASED EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, ON CURBING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, AND ON REDUCING ARMS TRANSFERS TO VOLATILE AREAS IS SET INTO A CONTEXT OF COMMITMENT TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE; OR ONGOING SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY; OF A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH OUR NORTHERN NEIGHBOR CANADA; OF THE ASSURANCE OF MILITARY SECURITY VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION COMBINED WITH REALISTIC MEASURES TO REDUCE EAST-WEST TENSION; AND OF A DETERMINATION TO TREAT THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE AS INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN ENTITIES.

-- THE THREE SUMMIT MEETINGS IN LONDON THIS MONTH DRAMATICALLY UNDERScoreD BOTH OUR TRADITIONAL COMMITMENTS AND OUR NEW DIRECTIONS. THE UNITY AND STRENGTH OF NATO REMAIN CRITICAL. PRESIDENT CARTER, DURING THE SUMMIT MEETINGS IN LONDON TWO WEEKS AGO, PLEDGED OUR COMMITMENT TO PRESERVING THAT UNITY AND ENHANCING THAT STRENGTH.

-- HE DID SO BY ASSERTING THAT:

-- -- WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE THE ALLIANCE THE HEART OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY;

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-- -- WE WILL REMAIN A RELIABLE AND FAITHFUL ALLY;

-- -- WE WILL JOIN WITH OUR ALLIES TO STRENGTHEN THE ALLIANCE -- POLITICALLY, ECONOMICALLY AND MILITARILY; AND

-- -- WE WILL ASK FOR AND LISTEN TO THE ADVICE OF OUR ALLIES, AND WE WILL GIVE OUR VIEWS IN RETURN, CANDIDLY AND AS FRIENDS.

-- THE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE AT A NATO SESSION ON HIS FIRST FOREIGN TRIP DEMONSTRATES THE FIRST TWO OF THESE PROPOSITIONS. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S TRIP TO BRUSSELS TO ADDRESS THE NATO COUNCIL ONLY 39 HOURS AFTER THE INAUGURATION UNDERLINED THE SAME COMMITMENT.

-- OUR COMMITMENT TO JOIN IN STRENGTHENING THE ALLIANCE HAS ALREADY BEEN PROVEN BY THE INCREASED DEFENSE CONTRIBUTION TO NATO IN THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST BUDGET -- OVER ONE-HALF BILLION DOLLARS. THE PRESIDENT HAS ALSO RECONFIRMED OUR COMMITMENT TO A STRATEGY OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE AND FORWARD DEFENSE. TO ACHIEVE THE NECESSARY STRENGTH TO APPLY THIS STRATEGY, HOWEVER, ALL THE ALLIES MUST DEVELOP AND MODERNIZE THEIR FORCES, AS WELL AS PROMOTE

EFFICIENCY BY ELIMINATING WASTE AND DUPLICATION.

-- TO DO THIS, THE PRESIDENT HAS PROPOSED THAT NATO DEVELOP A LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM FOR THE 1980'S. THIS PROGRAM SHOULD COMBINE, COORDINATE AND CONCERT NATIONAL PROGRAMS, INTRODUCE NEW TECHNOLOGY AND GIVE HIGHER PRIORITY TO INCREASING FORCE READINESS. THE NATO SUMMIT MEETING ENTHUSIASTICALLY ENDORSED THIS APPROACH, AND NATO DEFENSE MINISTERS HAVE ALREADY INITIATED FOLLOW-UP WORK.

-- FINALLY, THE PRESIDENT HAS PROPOSED, AND NATO HAS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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AGREED TO, A MAJOR REVIEW OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND AN ANALYSIS OF WHAT THESE TRENDS MEAN FOR THE ALLIANCE. THIS STUDY AND OUR CONTINUING CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES ON A BROAD RANGE OF ISSUES SHOULD HELP US FORGE THAT UNITY OF PURPOSE AND POLITICAL WILL THAT STRENGTHENS OUR NATO TIES.

-- IN HIS SPEECH AT THE NATO SUMMIT, THE PRESIDENT ALSO EXPRESSED STRONG UNITED STATES SUPPORT FOR PROGRESS TOWARD WESTERN EUROPEAN UNIFICATION AND THE EXPANDING ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN WORLD AFFAIRS AND ADDED THAT WE WILL WORK CLOSELY WITH THE COMMUNITY. THIS DOES NOT MEAN, OF COURSE, THAT THERE WILL NOT BE PROBLEMS BETWEEN US. IN PARTICULAR, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO PRESERVE THE FLUID TRANSATLANTIC TRADING RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS BEEN OF OVERALL BENEFIT BOTH TO THE U.S. AND TO THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIES. NOR DOES THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT MEAN THAT THE U.S. SHOULD SEEK TO DETERMINE THE CHARACTER AND THE PACE OF THE UNIFICATION PROCESS. THAT IS FOR THE EUROPEANS THEMSELVES TO DETERMINE. BUT WE ARE GLAD TO GIVE OUR WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT TO THE UNIFICATION PROCESS, AS EVERY U.S. ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II.

-- PRESIDENT CARTER REMARKED IN LONDON THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME, ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE DEMOCRACIES. WE ARE PARTICULARLY GRATIFIED AT THE DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT -- AND THAT OF OTHER FRIENDS AND ALLIES -- FOR THIS PROGRESS WILL BE NECESSARY. THE U.S. HAD TAKEN THE LEAD IN A MULTI-LATERAL LENDING PROGRAM TO PROVIDE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS ASSISTANCE TO THE GREATLY STRAINED PORTUGUESE ECONOMY. IN THREE WEEKS SPAIN WILL HAVE ITS FIRST DEMOCRATIC ELECTION IN OVER FOUR DECADES. BOTH VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE AND SECRETARY VANCE, IN THEIR RECENT VISITS, HAVE EMPHASIZED U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND FOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ALL THE GENUINELY DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN SPAIN.

-- ELSEWHERE IN WESTERN EUROPE THERE ARE SERIOUS PROBLEMS AFFECTING U.S. INTERESTS. INSTABILITY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IS REFLECTED IN A TRIPLE PROBLEM: A CYPRUS PROBLEM, AN AEGEAN PROBLEM, AND A NATO PROBLEM.

-- THE ADMINISTRATION IS COMMITTED TO DOING EVERYTHING IT POSSIBLY CAN TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF A JUST SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE GAP IN POSITIONS BETWEEN THE TWO CYPRUS COMMUNITIES REMAINS WIDE AFTER THE TALKS IN VIENNA LAST MONTH. WE THINK HOWEVER, THAT WITH TIME, GOOD WILL AND HARD WORK A SETTLEMENT CAN BE ACHIEVED. WE THINK IT IMPORTANT THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE AND CONCENTRATE ON THE TWO KEY ISSUES OF THE FUTURE GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE FOR CYPRUS AND THE TERRITORIAL ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM.

-- THE AEGEAN SEA INVOLVES COMPLEX QUESTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW OF THE SEA, BUT ALSO STRONG MUTUAL FEARS AND SUSPICIONS ON THE PART OF GREECE AND TURKEY ARE INVOLVED. WE HAVE URGED BOTH SIDES ON MANY OCCASIONS TO AVOID PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS, PURSUE A PATH OF MODERATION, AND ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE THEIR DIFFERENCES. TALKS ARE GOING ON AND WE HOPE THAT PROGRESS CAN BE MADE ON SUCH QUESTIONS AS THE CONTINENTAL SHELF AND CONTROL OF THE AIRSPACE IN THE AEGEAN AREA.

-- WE ARE ALSO ANXIOUS TO STRENGTHEN OUR BILATERAL AND NATO RELATIONS WITH BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY. WE THINK THIS CAN BEST BE DONE THROUGH DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENTS WITH BOTH COUNTRIES. IN THE INTERIM UNTIL SUCH AGREEMENTS CAN ENTER INTO EFFECT, WE THINK THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM PRESENTED BY THE ADMINISTRATION FOR 1978 IS REASONABLE AND IS IN THE LONG TERM INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

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TRIES, THE UNITED STATES AND NATO.

IN MUCH OF WESTERN EUROPE THE SLOWNESS OF THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY HAS CAUSED MAJOR ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AND EXACERBATED POLITICAL TROUBLES. IN A LARGE SENSE, ONLY THE COUNTRIES THEMSELVES CAN DEAL WITH THE ROOT CAUSES OF THESE DIFFICULTIES. THE U.S. AND OTHER MAJOR INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THESE EFFORTS. AND THE PACE OF OUR OWN ECONOMIC RECOVERY WILL HAVE AN EFFECT ON RECOVERY IN WESTERN EUROPE. THE SEVEN LEADERS

AT THE LONDON ECONOMIC SUMMIT RECOGNIZED THAT IN EACH OF OUR COUNTRIES THE MOST URGENT TASK IS TO CREATE MORE JOBS WHILE CONTINUING TO REDUCE INFLATION.

-- THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT ALSO SET AS OBJECTIVES, TO WHICH THE U.S. ENTHUSIASTICALLY SUBSCRIBES: TO STRENGTHEN THE OPEN INTERNATIONAL TRADING SYSTEM AND GIVE NEW IMPETUS TO THE TOKYO ROUND OF MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS, TO CONSERVE ENERGY AND REDUCE OUR DEPENDENCE ON OIL, AND TO INCREASE THE FLOW OF AID AND OTHER REAL RESOURCES TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

-- FOR THE LAST EIGHTEEN MONTHS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN MEETING AT THE CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION (CIEC) IN INTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN RICH AND POOR NATIONS. THE CONFERENCE WILL CONCLUDE WITH A MINISTERIAL-LEVEL MEETING BEGINNING MAY 30 IN PARIS WHERE WE EXPECT THE TWO SIDES WILL AGREE ON A SET OF REALISTIC RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH WILL FOSTER IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN THE INDUSTRIALIZED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

-- EAST-WEST RELATIONS REMAIN A SIGNAL PRIORITY IN OUR EUROPEAN POLICY. THE MUTUALLY REINFORCING DIMENSIONS OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE EAST REMAIN: (L) TO PREVENT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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THE SOVIET UNION FROM TRANSFORMING ITS MILITARY POWER INTO POLITICAL EXPANSION OR ADVANTAGE, AND (2) TO SEEK TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS AND DISPUTES THROUGH NEGOTIATION WHILE ENHANCING INCENTIVES FOR SOVIET MODERATION.

-- IN SALT, THE U.S. HAS A UNIQUE CHALLENGE. WE KNOW THAT COMPETITION WITH THE SOVIETS WILL CONTINUE, BUT WE MUST SEEK WAYS TO CONTROL AND, IF POSSIBLE, REDUCE THAT COMPETITION. OUR PERCEPTION IS THAT THE SOVIET INTEREST IN SALT REMAINS STRONG (UPDATE FROM GENEVA MEETING). GIVEN THE STRENGTH OF OUR OWN STRATEGIC PROGRAMS, AND WESTERN TECHNOLOGICAL SUPERIORITY, WE BELIEVE THE SOVIET INTEREST IN ACCOMMODATION WITH US WILL CONTINUE TO BE STRONG. BUT NOTHING WILL PRODUCE SOVIET CONCESSIONS WHICH IN THEIR VIEW WOULD DAMAGE THEIR SECURITY INTERESTS. THUS WE MUST FIND WAYS TO LIMIT COMPETITION WITHOUT SEEKING UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE.

-- IN ADDITION, BOTH WE AND CERTAIN OF OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES ARE ENGAGED IN MBFR TALKS IN VIENNA, WHERE WE WISH TO APPLY THE SAME PRINCIPLES OF PARITY AND WHERE WE WISH TO ACHIEVE A COLLECTIVE CEILING THAT DOES NOT INHIBIT OUR ABILITY TO PLAN OUR FORCE STRUCTURE WITHIN THAT CEILING. IN SECRETARY VANCE'S DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW WE UNDER-

SCORED THE NEED FOR SERIOUS EXAMINATION OF FORCE DATA. WE INDICATED THAT THIS IS NECESSARY IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE THE UNDERSTANDINGS NECESSARY TO PROMOTE MUTUAL SECURITY AND TO AVOID ONE-SIDED MILITARY ADVANTAGE. THE PRESIDENT HAS PLEDGED HIS SUPPORT FOR THESE EFFORTS.

-- THE MAJOR OBJECTIVE OF NATO'S DETERRENT IS OF COURSE TO CONVINCE THE SOVIETS THAT ANY AGGRESSION IN EUROPE WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. BUT WE WILL NEED TO SHOW OUR CONCERN FOR SOVIET BEHAVIOR BEYOND THE SHORES AND BORDERS OF THIS CONTINENT. WE CANNOT BE OBLIVIOUS TO SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE HORN, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND ELSEWHERE IN THE THIRD WORLD. IT IS WORTH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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POINTING OUT THAT, DESPITE THE NEW OPPORTUNITIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WHICH MOSCOW HAS SOUGHT TO EXPLOIT, IN MOST AREAS THE SOVIET RECORD IS NOT PARTICULARLY INSPIRING. THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN INDIA IS NOT AS SYMPATHETIC AS THE OLD; MOSCOW REMAINS OUTSIDE THE MAJOR POLITICAL ACTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST; AND SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS SEEM TO BE SOURING ANEW IN THE WAKE OF SOVIET EFFORTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE POST-MAO LEADERSHIP IN CHINA.

-- WE CANNOT REALISTICALLY SEEK TO EXCLUDE THE SOVIETS FROM A ROLE IN AREAS WHERE TENSIONS EXIST, SUCH AS THE MIDDLE EAST. AT SOME POINT, IT WILL BE IN OUR INTEREST TO ENCOURAGE AN INCREASED SOVIET ROLE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE SHOULD ALSO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO INSULATE THIRD WORLD SITUATIONS FROM EAST-WEST COMPETITION AND TO SEEK A REDUCTION OF TENSIONS OF BENEFIT TO ALL.

-- THE ADMINISTRATION BELIEVES THAT WESTERN ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE SHOULD BE AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF OUR POLICY TOWARD THE EAST. WE SEE BOTH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ADVANTAGES TO EXPANDING OUR TRADE TIES -- ECONOMIC BECAUSE OF THE EXPORT SURPLUSES WE ARE ABLE TO CREATE, POLITICAL BECAUSE IN THE LONG RUN A SIGNIFICANT EAST-WEST ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP CAN PUT ADDITIONAL WEIGHT ON THE MODERATION SIDE OF THE BALANCE IN

SOVIET POLICY-MAKING. IN VIEW OF THE GROWTH IN EAST-WEST TRADE AND -- PERHAPS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT -- OF THE LARGE DEBT WHICH THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES HAVE RUN UP WITH WESTERN CREDITORS -- IT WOULD SEEM LOGICAL FOR US TO TAKE A MORE COORDINATED LOOK AT THE LONG-TERM IMPLICATIONS OF OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE EAST. PRESIDENT CARTER'S PROPOSAL FOR A NATO STUDY OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS, APPROVED IN LONDON EARLIER THIS MONTH, SHOULD BE

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HELPFUL IN SUCH A PROCESS.

-- LET ME SAY A WORD ABOUT THE U.S. APPROACH TO ANOTHER MAJOR MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATION NOW UNDER WAY IN THE EAST-WEST CONTEXT IN ADDITION TO THE SALT TALKS AND MBFR -- THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CSCE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED AT HELSINKI.

-- WE STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT HAS INITIATED A PROCESS WHICH CAN PROVE VERY USEFUL FOR WESTERN OBJECTIVES. THIS IS A PERCEPTION WHICH WAS NOT WIDELY ACCEPTED AT THE TIME. THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT BEGINS FROM THE PREMISE THAT WESTERN UNITY IS ALL-IMPORTANT IF WE ARE TO KEEP CSCE CONSISTENT WITH OUR OWN INTERESTS. AND WE STRONGLY FAVOR THE WESTERN APPROACH APPROVED AT THE NATO SUMMIT THAT EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL THE OBLIGATIONS UNDERTAKEN TWO YEARS AGO AT HELSINKI. WE NEED TO REMEMBER THAT THE CSCE PROCESS WILL BE A USEFUL ONE ONLY INsofar AS IT CONCENTRATES ON THE IMPORTANCE OF SPECIFIC OBLIGATIONS. IF SUCH A CONCENTRATION REQUIRES SOME FAIRLY FRANK TALK WITH THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES, WE WILL NOT SHRINK FROM THAT. WE DON'T WANT TO BE CONFRONTATIONAL, BUT WE DO WANT TO BE FIRM.

-- WE ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR GROWING CONTACTS WITH EASTERN EUROPE, AS WELL AS THE SOVIET UNION, THAT CSCE PROVIDES. WE THINK IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE, SO MANY OF WHICH HAVE STRONG TRADITIONAL TIES WITH WESTERN EUROPE AND WITH THE UNITED STATES, SHOULD REVIVE AND EXPAND THOSE TIES. THERE IS SOME CONCERN THAT INCREASED WESTERN CONTACTS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE WOULD BE DESTABILIZING AND SHOULD THEREFORE BE KEPT TO A MINIMUM. I BELIEVE THIS CONCERN IS EXAGGERATED. TO THE DEGREE THAT EASTERN EUROPE IS UNSTABLE, IT IS UNSTABLE BECAUSE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THE SOVIET UNION; THE WEST HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH DEFINING THAT RELATIONSHIP. OUR ATTITUDE WILL CONTINUE TO BE BASED ON A DETERMINATION TO TREAT THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE AS INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN AND TO RECOGNIZE NO CLAIM TO SPHERES OF INFLUENCE OR TO HEGEMONY. NATURALLY, THE PROCESS OF EXPANDING TIES CAN ONLY PROCEED

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TIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THE SOVIET UNION; THE WEST HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH DEFINING THAT RELATIONSHIP. OUR ATTITUDE WILL CONTINUE TO BE BASED ON A DETERMINATION TO TREAT THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE AS INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN AND TO RECOGNIZE NO

CLAIM TO SPHERES OF INFLUENCE OR TO HEGEMONY.
NATURALLY, THE PROCESS OF EXPANDING TIES CAN ONLY PROCEED

AT A PACE WHICH THE GOVERNMENTS OF EASTERN EUROPE ARE WILLING AND ABLE TO SUSTAIN. WE ENVISAGE A GRADUAL EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS; BUT A COMMITMENT TO THAT PROCESS IS A FUNDAMENTAL ONE FOR THE U.S.

-- I SAID AT THE OUTSET THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION BRINGS NEW DIRECTIONS TO OUR POLICIES, AND THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA. AN INCREASED PRIORITY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIETIES IN A MORE MODERATE DIRECTION WITHOUT ENDANGERING WESTERN SECURITY OBJECTIVES. AT THE NATO SUMMIT, THE ALLIES STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF PROMOTING RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. IN OUR VIEW, OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY IS CONSISTENT WITH DETENTE AND NOT ANTI-THETICAL TO IT; INDEED, IT CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THE DETENTE OBJECTIVES WE AND OUR ALLIES ALL SEEK.

-- PRESIDENT CARTER AND SECRETARY VANCE HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT WE RECOGNIZE THE LIMITS WHICH ARE IMPOSED UPON US. IN MANY CASES WE ARE DEALING WITH SOCIETIES WHICH HAVE A TRADITION OF AUTHORITARIANISM THAT GOES BACK MANY DECADES, EVEN CENTURIES. WE CANNOT HOPE FOR CHANGES OVERNIGHT; NOR SHOULD WE DEFLECT OUR PRIMARY OBJECTIVE FROM THE ESSENTIAL NEED TO MODERATE THE INTERNATIONAL, NOT THE INTERNAL, BEHAVIOR OF STATES. WE DO NOT INTEND TO MEDDLE IN MATTERS WHICH CAN PROPERLY BE CONSIDERED THE INTERNAL AFFAIR OF STATES. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, NO STATE WHICH HAS SIGNED THE U.N. DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE HELIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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SINKI FINAL ACT CAN CLAIM THAT THE WAY THEY TREAT THEIR OWN CITIZENS IS ENTIRELY THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIR.

-- THAT BEING SAID, LET ME EMPHASIZE OUR CONVICTION THAT IN THE LONG RUN PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS IN EUROPE IS BEST ACHIEVED IN CONDITIONS OF DETENTE. WE ARE WELL AWARE THAT AN APPROACH WHICH IGNORES THIS FACT WOULD NOT ONLY IMPERIL SOME OF OUR MAJOR OBJECTIVES OF DETENTE, BUT ALSO FAIL TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF THE VERY PEOPLE WE ARE TRYING TO HELP.

-- MR. CHAIRMAN, LET ME MAKE A FINAL POINT ABOUT THE EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP. IN THE END, THE MILITARY BALANCE, OUR ABILITY TO REDUCE EAST-WEST POLITICAL TENSION, AND THE ULTIMATE SUCCESS OF OUR DETENTE POLICIES WILL DEPEND ON THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE WEST CAN MAINTAIN ITS MILITARY STRENGTH, ITS ECONOMIC HEALTH, AND ITS DEMOCRATIC VALUES. THE ULTIMATE CHALLENGE THAT ISPOSED FOR US IS NOT SO MUCH THE CHALLENGE OF A FOREIGN THREAT; IT IS A

CHALLENGE WITHIN OURSELVES AND OUR SOCIETIES. THERE IS

SOME PESSIMISM IN EUROPE ABOUT OUR ABILITY TO GET OUR ECONOMIES MOVING AND TO PRESERVE THE VIABILITY OF OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS.

-- THE SUMMITS WHICH HAVE JUST TAKEN PLACE IN LONDON WERE ABOVE ALL AN EFFORT TO SHOW TO OURSELVES AND TO OUR PUBLICS AND LEGISLATURES THAT -- NO MATTER HOW INTRICATE THE PROBLEMS THAT CROWD ABOUT US -- WE HAVE THE - POLITICAL WILL AND THE ABILITY TO DEAL WITH THEM. IF WE CAN MASTER THIS TYPE OF CHALLENGE, THEN I HAVE EVERY CONFIDENCE THAT WE CAN MANAGE THE SEPARATE BUT RELATED CHALLENGE THAT CONFRONTS US FROM THE EASTERN HALF OF THE CONTINENT.

-- LET ME END BY QUOTING THE FINAL WORDS OF THE SEVEN-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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NATION SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE: QUOTE THE MESSAGE OF THE DOWNING STREET SUMMIT IS THUS ONE OF CONFIDENCE: IN THE CONTINUING STRENGTH OF OUR SOCIETIES AND THE PROVEN DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES THAT GIVE THEM VITALITY; THAT WE ARE UNDERTAKING THE MEASURES NEEDED TO OVERCOME PROBLEMS AND ACHIEVE A MORE PROSPEROUS FUTURE. UNQUOTE.

END TEXT.

CHRISTOPHER

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